

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 01838 01 OF 06 070025Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-11
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 06 USUN NEW YORK 01838

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
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PAGE 02 USUN N 01838 01 OF 06 070025Z

TAGS: PORG, UNSC, SF, AO
SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL MEETS TO CONSIDER SOUTH
AFRICAN ATTACK ON ANGOLA

REF: USUN 1830

SUMMARY: THE SECURITY COUNCIL MET IN FORMAL SESSION

SHORTLY AFTER NOON MAY 6 TO VOTE UNANIMOUS ADOPTION OF THE NON-ALIGNED DRAFT RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE SOUTH AFRICAN INCURSION INTO ANGOLA (TEXT TRANSMITTED SEPTEL). THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT REMAINED UNCHANGED FROM THAT AGREED THE PREVIOUS EVENING, DESPITE ANGOLA'S DESIRE TO REVERT TO USE OF PHRASEOLOGY REFERRING TO "ARMED AGGRESSION". STATEMENTS BY COUNCIL MEMBERS AND OTHERS ARE SUMMARIZED. END SUMMARY.

1. BEFORE THE COUNCIL CONVENED ITS SECOND FORMAL MEETING ON THE ANGOLAN COMPLAINT, USDEL (LEONARD) APPROACHED RAMPHUL (MAURITIUS), WHO REPRESENTED THE SPONSORS OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION, WITH THE REQUEST THAT A REFERENCE TO CHAPTER VI BE ADDED TO THE FINAL PARAGRAPH OF THE DRAFT (STATE 116279 NOTAL), AND THAT OP PARA SIX COMMENDING ANGOLA FOR ITS SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA BE DELETED. RAMPHUL'S RESPONSE WAS THAT ANGOLA OVERNIGHT HAD URGED THAT THE SPONSORS RETURN TO THE USE OF PHRASEOLOGY IN THE DRAFT REFERRING TO "ARMED AGGRESSION", WORDS WE HAD SUCCEEDED LATE MAY 5 IN GETTING CHANGED TO "ARMED INVASION". RAMPHUL SAID THAT IF HE REOPENED THE DRAFT FOR THE CHANGES DESIRED BY THE US, HE WOULD BE UNABLE TO RESIST THE ANGOLAN REQUEST AND PERHAPS OTHERS. HE URGED THAT WE ACCEPT THE DRAFT AS IT STOOD, AND WE FINALLY AGREED, AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE OTHER FOUR.

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PAGE 03 USUN N 01838 01 OF 06 070025Z

2. AT THE REQUEST OF THE AFRICANS, THE PRESIDENT (VENEZUELA) CALLED THE VOTE BEFORE FURTHER STATEMENTS WERE HEARD. THE VOTE WAS UNANIMOUS.

3. ANGOLA ASKED FOR THE FLOOR IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE VOTE, AHEAD OF ANY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, TO REPORT THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WERE STILL IN ANGOLA AND WERE BEING REINFORCED. HE LISTED 16 ANGOLAN TROOPS KILLED, 64 WOUNDED, AND 504 REFUGEES DEAD AND 254 WOUNDED. HE ALSO SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WAS PRESENTLY ASSESSING THE DAMAGES TO THE TOWN OF CASSINGA, WHICH WAS PARTIALLY DESTROYED IN THE ATTACK. HE CONCLUDED BY NOTING HIS WISH THAT THE "ARMED AGGRESSION" PHRASEOLOGY HAD BEEN USED IN THE RESOLUTION.

4. KUWAIT (BISHARA) EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT THE COUNCIL'S POSITIVE RESPONSE TO WHAT HE TERMED "THE UNMISTAKABLE DRIFT TOWARD LAWLESSNESS IN THE WORLD". SOME STATES FEEL THEY CAN VIOLATE THE CHARTER AND GET AWAY WITH IT. SOUTH AFRICA CALLED ITS INCURSION A "MOPPING-UP OPERATION", A TERM ALSO USED BY ISRAEL IN ITS INCURSION

INTO LEBANON. BOTH OF THESE "SISTER STATES" CONTRIBUTE TO LAWLESSNESS IN THE WORLD; BOTH INSIST ON PERPETUATION OF APARTHEID AND AGGRESSION. THE PREVIOUS FAILURE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO TAKE STRONG ACTIONS AGAINST SUCH LAWLESS ACTS HAS ENCOURAGED SOUTH AFRICA AND ISRAEL, AND IT HAS ALSO ENCOURAGED EVERYONE TO CONCLUDE THAT THEY MUST UNDERTAKE THEIR OWN SELF-DEFENSE BY ANY MEANS AVAILABLE. BISHARA ASKED WHO COULD BLAME NUJOMA, WHO DECLARED THAT THE ONLY ROAD OPEN TO NAMIBIANS IS ARMED STRUGGLE. BISHARA DREW THE JUXTAPOSITION IN TIME BETWEEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN INCURSION, THE END OF THE

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PAGE 01 USUN N 01838 02 OF 06 070047Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 06 USUN NEW YORK 01838

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA, AND THE FORTHCOMING OPENING
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 01838 02 OF 06 070047Z

OF THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, AND ASKED HOW SOUTHERN AFRICAN NATIONS CAN BE EXPECTED SERIOUSLY TO DISCUSS DISARMAMENT WHEN THEY ARE UNDER ATTACK. HE SAID SOUTH AFRICA AIMED AT THE ISOLATION OF NAMIBIA AND DISRUPTION OF THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT IN NAMIBIA AND ANGOLA. HE CONCLUDED BY REASSERTING KUWAIT'S SUPPORT FOR PUNITIVE MEASURES IN CASES OF THIS KIND AND SAID FULL CHAPTER VII SANCTIONS SHOULD BE IMPOSED AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IN THE FUTURE.

5. CANADA (BARTON) EXPRESSED SYMPATHY AND SORROW FOR THE LOSS AND SUFFERING CAUSED IN THE RECENT SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACK. HE NOTED THAT THE COUNCIL HAD SHOWN NO HESITATION IN CONDEMNING THE INCURSION, MAKING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT UNDENIABLE. HE FEARED FOR THE UNSETTLING EFFECT OF THIS DEVELOPMENT ON THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND SAID THE ANGOLA/NAMIBIA BORDER AREA WILL NEVER BE PEACEFUL UNTIL A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM IS REACHED. THE WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL WOULD DO THIS, AND IN CANADA'S VIEW IT IS THE ONLY PRACTICAL MEANS TO BRING INDEPENDENCE AND PEACE TO THE AREA. HE CALLED FOR RESTRAINT BY ALL PARTIES, EVEN IN THE FACE OF PROVOCATION. HE SAID HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY PROGRESS IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS AND BELIEVED SUCCESS WAS CLOSE AT HAND. HE APPEALED FOR PEACE AND THE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. CANADA SUPPORTS THE RESOLUTION, BUT EMPHASIZES THAT THE PATH TO PEACE IS NOT THROUGH A CONTINUATION OF VIOLENCE.

6. CZECHOSLOVAKIA (HULINSKY) TERMED SOUTH AFRICA'S RECENT ATTACK AGAINST ANGOLAN TERRITORY ONLY THE LAST IN A SERIES OF SUCH PREMEDITATED ACTS CONSTITUTING A CONSTANT THREAT TO ANGOLA. HE, TOO, NOTED THE OCCUR-
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 USUN N 01838 02 OF 06 070047Z

RENCE OF THIS NEW AGGRESSION IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE SPECIAL SESSION DEMANDING SOUTH AFRICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM NAMIBIA, AND HE CALLED SOUTH AFRICA'S ACTION "AN OPEN, NAKED ACT OF DEFIANCE". HE CHARGED THAT

SOUTH AFRICA'S ACTION CLEARLY PROVES IT HAS NO INTENTION OF WITHDRAWING PEACEFULLY FROM NAMIBIA, AS "SOME" HAVE TRIED TO PERSUADE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. IT IS NO WONDER THAT SWAPO IS THEREFORE CAUTIOUS IN ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PROPOSAL TO "IMPOSE" UPON THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA SOME AGREEMENTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. PEACE CAN ASSURED IN THE AREA ONLY BY ENDING THE SOUTH AFRICAN OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA AND THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID.

7. GABON (NDONG) CALLED THE ATTACK A "WAR OF AGGRESSION" USING SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS, INCLUDING AIRBORNE TROOPS. HE TERMED IT A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF A MEMBER STATE, AND AN OBVIOUS THREAT TO THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE WORLD. THE EVENT STEMMED FROM THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM AND SOUTH AFRICA'S REFUSAL TO WITHDRAW. NOTING THAT SOUTH AFRICA MOVED THE DAY AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE SPECIAL SESSION, HE ASKED RHETORICALLY WHETHER THERE ARE WAYS TO PEACE OTHER THAN THROUGH VIOLENCE, WHICH GABON ABHORS. HE ASSERTED THAT THERE ARE OBJECTIVE CRITERIA FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF CONFLICTS WHICH EVERYONE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT IF THEY ARE TO DEAL WITH AFRICANS. HE APPEALED TO THOSE WHO MAINTAIN RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA TO MOVE THEM TOWARD PEACE AND THE RESPECT FOR PRINCIPLES.

8. CHINA EXPRESSED "UTMOST INDIGNATION" OVER SOUTH AFRICA'S "BARBAROUS ACTS OF AGGRESSION". THE PURPOSE OF SOUTH AFRICA REGIME'S ACTION WAS TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA AND THE WHOLE OF AFRICA, BUT THE SAG ACTION WAS SIMILAR TO "LIFTING A ROCK TO DROP ON ONE'S OWN FEET" BECAUSE IT WOULD BRING INTERNATIONAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 USUN N 01838 03 OF 06 070051Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 06 USUN NEW YORK 01838

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

CONDEMNATION OF THE SA REGIME. THE SECURITY COUNCIL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 01838 03 OF 06 070051Z

SHOULD CONDEMN THE SA RACIST REGIME IN THE STRONGEST
OF TERMS AND TAKE MEASURES AIMED AT INDUCING ITS
WITHDRAWAL FROM NAMIBIA IMMEDIATELY.

9. FRANCE SHARED THE FEELINGS OF INDIGNATION OF PREVIOUS
SPEAKERS OVER THE ARMED ATTACK MADE AGAINST ANGOLAN
TERRITORY AND DEPLORED THE DEATHS RESULTING FROM THE
FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND THE
SOVEREIGNTY OF A UN MEMBER. THE AGGRESSION OF SA
WAS REPREHENSIBLE AND INEXCUSABLE. THE MAINTENANCE BY
SA OF AN ILLEGAL OCCUPATION IN NAMIBIA HAS BROUGHT
ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION. NAMIBIA MUST ACCEDE TO
INDEPENDENCE AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE BY MEANS OF ELECTIONS
CONTROLLED AND SUPERVISED BY THE UN. FRANCE HOPED THAT
INDEPENDENCE WOULD COME BY A PEACEFUL PROCESS AND SAID
THAT THE EFFORTS OF THE WESTERN FIVE WERE AIMED AT THIS.
FRANCE WOULD CONTINUE DOING ALL IT COULD TO FIND A
SOLUTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH SC RESOLUTION 385.

10. NIGERIA POINTED OUT THAT ANGOLANS AND NAMIBIANS HAD
SUFFERED TOGETHER AS A RESULT OF SA ARMED AGGRESSION.
NIGERIA STANDS BY THEM, AFRICA STANDS BY THEM, AND
NIGERIA HOPES THAT THE WORLD WILL STAND BY THEM.

NIGERIA CALLED FOR "REMEDIAL" ACTION BY SC AGAINST SA TO STOP ITS AGGRESSION AND TO "DISMANTLE THE APARTHEID REGIME" WHOSE "PANIC SYNDROME" HAS SPREAD A REIGN OF RACIST TERROR BEYOND ITS OWN BORDERS. SA, WITH THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF SOME TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS, HAS EXPLOITED NAMIBIA'S TERRITORY AND IMPOSED RAXISM ON NAMIBIAN PEOPLE. HE RIDICULED SA CLAIMS THAT IT HAD ACTED TO PROTECT WORKERS AND REFUGEES AND ITS SECURITY-. THE ATTACK RAISES SERIOUS DOUBTS OVER THE SINCERITY OF SA'S INTENTIONS ABOUT THE (WESTERN) CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 01838 03 OF 06 070051Z

INDEPENDENCE PROPOSALS, AND MAKES CLEAR THAT SA IS WORKING TO ENSURE THAT IT CONTINUES TO RULE NAMIBIA THROUGH TRIBAL PUPPET GROUPS. THE PROTECTION OF SA AGAINST SANCTIONS BY SOME WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SC PERMITTED THE PRESENT SITUATION TO DEVELOP. THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS NOW HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE "THEIR PROTEGE" ACCEPT A SOLUTION. THE CREDIBILITY OF THE FIVE IS NOW FACING ITS GREATEST TEST. EFFECTIVE MEASURES MUST NOW BE TAKEN AGAINST THE RACIST REGIME. THE SC SHOULD AS A MATTER OF PRIORITY TAKE STEPS TO IMPLEMENT CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER. HE ENDED BY HOPING THAT THE COUNCIL WOULD ACT QUICKLY AND DECISIVELY "IF AGGRESSION DOES NOT STOP".

11. THE SOVIET UNION SHARED THE ANGOLAN REPRESENTATIVE'S EXPRESSION OF OUTRAGE AND CONDEMNATION OVER SA ATTACK WHICH KILLED INNOCENT PEACEFUL PEOPLE. EVIDENCE CONFIRMS THAT SA IS REPEATEDLY CARRYING OUT ACTS OF AGGRESSION A-AINST ANGOLA. IT IS USING NAMIBIAN TERRITORY FOR BRUTAL AGGRESSION AGAINST A NEIGHBOR. THE UN IS OBLIGED TO TRANSFER POWER TO SWAPO, THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE. SWAPO HAS BEEN CAUTIOUS TOWARD ACCPETING THE WESTERN PROPOSALS AND SAG'S ACCEPTANCE OF THEM SHOWS THAT SAG CONSIDERS THE PROPOSALS TO BE AN ACCEPTABLE VEHICLE FOR MAINTENANCE OF ITS CONTROL OVER NAMIBIA. THE USSR SUPPORTS THE DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION OF PRETORIA REGIME. SA AGGRESSION WAS THE RESULT OF DIRECT CONNIVING WITH "CERTAIN IMPERIALIST CIRCLES". SOVIET DELEGATE ASSERTED THAT THE WESTERN COUNTRIES "BEAR A CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DANGEROUS SITUATION" IN THE AREA. THE USSR VOTED FOR THE SC RESOLUTION BUT BELIEVED IT SHOULD HAVE CONTAINED TOUGHER MEASURES TO FORCE COMPLIANCE OF PRETORIA.

12. MAURITIUS (RAMPHUL) ASSERTED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACK WAS NOT AIMED ONLY AT MILITARY TARGETS BUT ALSO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 USUN N 01838 03 OF 06 070051Z

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PAGE 01 USUN N 01838 04 OF 06 070031Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-11
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 06 USUN NEW YORK 01838

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

AT SOWING TERROR AMONG CIVILIANS. ALTHOUGH THE PRESENT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 01838 04 OF 06 070031Z

SITUATION WAS UNCLEAR, HE CLAIMED THERE WERE INDICATIONS THAT SOUTH AFRICA MIGHT BE INTENDING TO OCCUPY A PART OF ANGOLA FOR SOME TIME, AS ISRAEL CONTINUES TO OCCUPY PART OF LEBANON. HE DREW THREE CONCLUSIONS FROM SOUTH AFRICAN ACTION. FIRST, THE WESTERN INITIATIVE HAD BEEN PROVED NOT ONLY FRUITLESS BUT DANGEROUS SINCE PROLONGATION OF FIVE'S EFFORT GAVE SOUTH AFRICA THE IMPRESSION IT COULD PROLONG ITS OPPRESSION AND DELAY WITHDRAWAL FROM NAMIBIA. MOREOVER, THE TERMS OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL DID NOT CONFORM SUFFICIENTLY TO RES 385, E.G., DID NOT CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL NAMIBIAN TERRITORY, DID NOT PROVIDE FOR ADEQUATE UN FORCE. SECONDLY, SINCE SOUTH AFRICA RESORTED TO FORCE WHEN IT COULD NOT GET ITS WAY THROUGH OTHER MEANS, SC MUST TAKE ACTION TO FORCE IT TO CHANGE ITS COURSE OR THERE WOULD BE FURTHER ATTACKS. FINALLY, RAMPHUL CONCLUDED THAT MAJOR WESTERN POWERS MUST RECONSIDER THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA. IF THEY WITHDREW THEIR SUPPORT, THE SAG WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO CHANGE ITS POLICIES. IF THEY DID NOT, THE CONSEQUENCES COULD BE INCALCULABLE.

13. INDIA (JAIPAL) READ HIS FOREIGN MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON THE MAY 4 ATTACK INTO THE RECORD. FM SAID UNPROVOKED AGGRESSION WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA. HE FOUND THE ACT, WHICH HE CONDEMNED, A NOTABLE COMMENTARY ON SOUTH AFRICA'S "QUALIFIED ACCEPTANCE" OF THE WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL. THE ACTION STRENGTHENED THOSE SKEPTICAL ABOUT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. FM CONCLUDED THAT ATTACK DEMONSTRATED NEED AND URGENCY TO APPLY MEASURES TO TERMINATE FORTHWITH THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA AND TO ASSURE COMPLETE SOUTH AFRICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL

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PAGE 03 USUN N 01838 04 OF 06 070031Z

NAMIBIAN TERRITORY. JAIPAL CONTINUED WITH CALL FOR SC TO USE ALL POWERS AT ITS DISPOSAL AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA AND REFERRED DISPARAGINGLY TO EXPRESSIONS OF "PIOUS HORROR" THAT "WE" ARE FACED WITH WHEN ADEQUATE MEASURES ARE MENTIONED. HE CONSIDERED ATTACK A VIOLATION OF RIGHT TO POLITICAL ASYLUM AS WELL AS OF ANGOLA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. TIMING OF ATTACK WAS NOT WITHOUT SIGNIFICANCE IN JAIPAL'S VIEW; IT SHOWED THAT SOUTH AFRICA CLEARLY HOPED TO WRECK HOPES OF NAMIBIAN PEOPLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE. THOSE

WITH RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA COULD NOT ESCAPE RESPONSIBILITY. JAIPAL DECLARED, ADDING THAT "WE HAVE EVERY RIGHT" TO EXPECT THEM TO SUPPORT MANDATORY SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

14. BOLIVIA (ROLON ANAYA) DECRIED THE "ILLEGAL USE OF THE INTERNATIONAL TERRITORY" OF NAMIBIA TO LAUNCH THE ATTACK AGAINST A SOVEREIGN STATE. HE COULD NOT ADD MUCH TO WHAT HAD BEEN SAID BUT HAD CO-SPONSORED RES IN HOPE THAT IT WOULD TERMINATE, IF NECESSARY THROUGH USE OF CHAPTER VII SANCTIONS, A SITUATION THAT VIOLATES UN CHARTER AND THAT IT WOULD LEAD TO PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE AREA.

15. IN THE VIEW OF THE UK (RICHARD), THIS WAS NOT TIME FOR POLEMICS. NOTING BRITISH DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICA IMMEDIATELY AFTER LEARNING OF ATTACK, RICHARD CONDEMNED THE ACTION AS INADMISSIBLE AND SOMETHING THAT MUST NOT RECURR. HE AFFIRMED THAT UK WOULD PARTICIPATE IN FURTHER TALKS WITH SWAPO AND EXPRESSED HOPE FOR INCREASED STABILITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. NOTING UK SUPPORT FOR RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY COUNCIL, RICHARD EXPLAINED THAT HIS GOVT'S SUPPORT FOR REFERENCES IN PRE-AMBULAR PARA 9 AND OPERATIVE PARAS 5 AND 6 TO LEGITIMATE STRUGGLE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE WAS LIMITED TO SUPPORT

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PAGE 01 USUN N 01838 05 OF 06 070033Z
ACTION IO-14

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L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 06 USUN NEW YORK 01838

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

OF PEACEFUL MEANS. THE REFERENCE IN OPERATIVE PARA 7
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 01838 05 OF 06 070033Z

TO SOUTH AFRICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM NAMIBIA "WITHOUT ANY
FURTHER DELAY" HE FOUND COMPLETELY CONSISTENT WITH ACTION
THAT WOULD OCCUR UNDER WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL. THE SOUTH
AFRICAN ACTION UNDERLINED THE URGENT, ALMOST DESPERATE,
NEED FOR A SETTLEMENT ON THE GROUND IN NAMIBIA IN
RICHARD'S VIEW, AND HE APPEALED TO ALL TO KEEP THEIR EYE
ON THE LONG-RANGE OBJECTIVE AND TO SHOW RESTRAINT.
EARLY ADOPTION OF THE WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL WAS THE
BEST AND ALMOST CERTAINLY THE ONLY WAY TO END THE CYCLE
OF VIOLENCE AND TO ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA WITH-
OUT DELAY. MOREOVER, IT WOULD HAVE IMMENSE IMPACT,
RICHARD BELIEVED, ELSEWHERE IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA.

16. FRG (VON WECHMAR) WAS GRATIFIED AT THE QUICK SC
ACTION ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACK, WHICH IT CONDEMNED.
VON WECHMAR FEARED THE ATTACK WOULD ENDANGER EFFORTS FOR
A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND NOTED IMMEDIATE FRG EXPRES-
SION OF SHOCK AND DISMAY TO SAG. REFERRING TO ONE OF
RAMPHUL'S CONCLUSIONS, VON WECHMAR SAID HIS GOVT PAR-
TICULARLY DEPLORED THE SOUTH AFRICAN ACTION
BECAUSE IT CAME WHEN EFFORTS OF FIVE PURSUANT TO SC
RES 385 HAD MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS ON A PROPOSAL
THAT WOULD BRING IMMEDIATE ACTION TOWARD A SETTLEMENT,
INCLUDING PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM
NAMIBIA. HE PLEDGED, HOWEVER, THAT THE ATTACK WOULD NOT
DETER THE FIVE FROM ITS EFFORTS. HE EXPRESSED FULL
AGREEMENT WITH NUJOMA'S VIEW THAT CONDITIONS FOR FREE AND
FAIR ELECTIONS WERE REQUIRED IN NAMIBIA. HE SAID FRG

HAD CALLED ON SOUTH AFRICA TO WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS IMMEDIATELY FROM ANGOLA AND TO REFRAIN FROM FUTURE ATTACKS.

17. US AMB LEONARD CONSIDERED MATTER UNDER DISCUSSION
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PAGE 03 USUN N 01838 05 OF 06 070033Z

OF UTMOST GRAVITY AND JOINED OTHERS IN CONDEMNING SOUTH AFRICA'S ACTION. HE EXPRESSED DISMAY AT "SENSELESSNESS" OF ACTION AT TIME WHEN NAMIBIAN SOLUTION WAS CLOSER THAN EVER BEFORE. HE NOTED US WARNING IN SPECIAL GA SESSION FEW DAYS BEFORE OF DANGERS OF ESCALATING VIOLENCE IN AREA, EXPRESSED US DETERMINATION TO PRESS AHEAD WITH NAMIBIAN INITIATIVE AND OUR CONVICTION THAT PEACE COULD BE ACHIEVED BY DECISION OF THE PARTIES NOW. (FULL TEXT SEPTTEL.)

18. SPEAKING AS REP OF VENEZUELA, CARPIO-CASTILLO DEPLORED ACTS OF VIOLENCE THAT HAVE BECOME MORE PREVALENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND EXCESSIVE DISREGARD OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND PRINCIPLES OF UN. HE REJECTED SOUTH AFRICA'S EFFORTS TO RETAIN POSITION IN TERRITORY IT HOLDS ILLEGALLY AND EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR ANGOLA AND FOR HISTORIC STRUGGLE OF SWAPO.

19. BENIN (HOUNGAVOU) REITERATED STANDARD COMPLAINTS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA AND "INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALIST SYSTEM" THAT SUPPORTS IT IN ITS "NEO-COLONIALIST" EFFORTS TO INSTALL "PUPPET REGIME" IN NAMIBIA. HE DEMANDED CHAPTER VII MEASURES AND IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA. HE CALLED FOR TOTAL ELIMINATION OF "RACIST REGIMES" IN SALISBURY AND PRETORIA AND EXERCISE OF RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE OF PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA. THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL DID NOT COME UP TO HIS EXPECTATIONS AS IT POSTPONED EFFECTIVE MEASURES, BUT HE HOPED REPETITION OF "ACTS OF AGGRESSION" WOULD LEAD TO MORE COMPLETE ARMS EMBARGO AND OTHER SANCTIONS.

20. ALGERIA (BOUAYAD-AGHA) THOUGHT SOUTH AFRICAN ACTION MADE A MOCKERY OF EFFORTS FOR A PEACEFUL

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PAGE 01 USUN N 01838 06 OF 06 070035Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
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USINT HAVANA PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
USLO PEKING PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 06 USUN NEW YORK 01838

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA. NOTING ATTACK CAME AT THE END
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PAGE 02 USUN N 01838 06 OF 06 070035Z

OF SPECIAL GA SESSION ON NAMIBIA, HE COMMENTED THAT
THIS GA SESSION HAD IN EFFECT BEEN CONTINUATION OF 8TH
SPECIAL SESSION (ON UNIFIL FINANCING) AS "REIGN OF TERROR"
AGAINST PALESTINIANS BY ISRAEL WAS SAME AS THAT AGAINST
NAMIBIANS BY SOUTH AFRICA. BOTH REGIMES WERE ENGAGED IN
ILLEGAL OCCUPATIONS, HE CHARGED. HE CRITICIZED WEST FOR
SUPPORT OF SOUTH AFRICA IN ITS POLICY OF APARTHEID,
WHICH HE CONSIDERED ROOT OF PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.
HE CALLED ON THEM TO REVIEW POSITIONS AND END ECONOMIC

TIES AND ARMS SUPPLY RELATIONSHIPS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. DEMANDING EFFECTIVE ACTION BY SC, HE DECLARED THAT PRETORIA REGIME WOULD NOT SUCCEED AND "BASTIONS OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE" WOULD ULTIMATELY OVERTHROW IT.

21. CUBA (ROA KOURI) MADE SIMILAR COMPARISON BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND ISRAEL AND PROCLAIMED THAT ANY AGGRESSION AGAINST "BROTHER PEOPLE OF ANGOLA IS CONSIDERED AGGRESSION AGAINST OUR OWN PEOPLE". HE SAID CUBA WOULD CONTINUE TO GIVE UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT TO SWAPO UNTIL COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY ATTAINED IN WHOLE TERRITORY OF NAMIBIA, INCLUDING WALVIS BAY. HE ASSERTED THAT EFFORT TO IMPOSE WALVIS BAY ON NAMIBIA WAS BEING TRIED IN SAME WAY "GUANTANAMO NAVAL BASE WAS IMPOSED ON US". HE CHARGED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME WAS SUPPORTED ON SHOULDERS OF IMPERIALIST MONOPOLIES AND CALLED FOR HALT IN ALL ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, OIL AND ARMS EMBARGO AND DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL ISOLATION.

22. IN THE VIEW OF MOZAMBIQUE (LOBO) THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA SHOULD "OPEN OUR EYES" TO THE REAL NATURE OF THE "APARTHEID REGIME" IN PRETORIA. HE PRESENTED DETAILED "EVIDENCE" OF MILITARY BUILDUP BY SOUTH AFRICA IN NAMIBIA AND NOTING THAT MOZAMBIQUE
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PAGE 03 USUN N 01838 06 OF 06 070035Z

IS A FRONT LINE STATE AND "COMMON VICTIM", CONDEMNED SOUTH AFRICA'S "ACT OF AGGRESSION". THIS ACT SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, BE PERMITTED TO OBSTRUCT INEVITABLE INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA. CLAIMING THE "AGGRESSION" WAS STILL CONTINUING, HE REPEATED NEWS REPORTS OF CASUALTIES CITED BY FIGUEIREDO. HE SCORED WESTERN SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA AND APPEALED FOR ALL POSSIBLE EFFORT TO END "APARTHEID REGIME" IN NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.

23. AMB KONIE OF ZAMBIA TOOK FLOOR SECOND TIME, SPEAKING ON THIS OCCASION AS CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA. SHE NOTED COUNCIL STATEMENT CONDEMNING PRETORIA REGIME (S/12691) AND DECLARED THAT PEACE WOULD COME TO SOUTHERN AFRICA ONLY AFTER ELIMINATION OF "APARTHEID REGIME" AND DISMANTLEMENT OF SYSTEM OF BANTUSTANS. MAKING MANY OF SAME POINTS AS IN HER MAY 5 STATEMENT AS ZAMBIAN REP, KONIE NOTED SOUTH AFRICA'S ACTION UNDERMINED CREDIBILITY OF CLAIMS BY SOME THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS WILLING TO AGREE TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA. SHE THOUGHT ACTION BY UNGA SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA HAD BEEN MORE REALISTIC AND URGED SC TO GIVE DUE WEIGHT TO THE DEBATE AND DOCUMENT APPROVED AT THE GA AND TO ACT URGENTLY ON GA RECOMMENDATIONS.

24. BEFORE CONCLUSION OF SESSION AND OF CONSIDERATION
OF ITEM, ANGOLAN REP FIGUEIREDO EXPRESSED HOPE FOR IM-
MEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION SC HAD ADOPTED.
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